1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makandre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

574 The Yandrana people claim that if the nobles came for a feast to their village, the Yandrana folk, as "teeth" (*mbati*) took no part in carrying the share of the feast of the land to Tumbou; it formerly was forbidden to call upon them to do so, for this was the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, but now they may not refuse because of the law of disobedience instituted by the British government.

574 462 252 Feasts, like all food cooked in hot stones, are prepared by the men. Guests are often honored by a breakfast of boiled food prepared, like all boiled food, by the women. The women come in single file to the guest's house, each bearing on her arm a tray of plaited coconut leaf called *i lalakai* and perhaps a gipsy pot containing fish boiled in coconut cream. The women enter the house and lay the food before the guests. This custom is called *takitaki* (carrying trays).

FESTIVALS OR POTLATCHES

Lauan Style

431 574 The word festival is a convenient translation of the word *solevu*, but it does not express its essence, which is a ceremonial exchange of presents between two groups with the accompaniment of feasts, often dances, and sometimes cricket. Perhaps the American word potlatch best renders its essential character of a competition between two teams. The word apparently is composed of *so*, to score in a game, and *levu*, big; it is therefore a "great competition," and in fact a competitive spirit dominates these festivals. The side that gives most is said to be victorious (*nggangga*); the other is beaten (*ndruka*).

The following account has been obtained:

The visitors present their stuff, first piling it up in the open. Then one of their nobles, holding up a whale's tooth, or teeth, speaks: *"Ia,* little tooth."

The other party, the hosts, then exclaim, *"Woi! woi!"*

He begins again: "A little tooth."

The others cry out *"A woi! woi!* great whale's tooth, *oi!"* (Some people go wrong here and shout this after the first time.) If the potlatch is on the occasion of disregarding mourning (*vakataraisulu*) the visitor proceeds, "The towel (*ka ni solo*) to make things right for so and so at his death. We who are forbidden [ordinary] clothes, we come and take off our clothes to you that we may love one another. My speech is long, etc." A nobleman from the other side stands up and takes the whale's teeth, and cries out, *"kamunganga."*

The hosts answer *"oi, oi, oi."*

The visitor continues (*kamunganga*), and makes a short speech. He then hands the teeth over to his heralds, who receives them sitting, kisses them, and prays over them (*masulaki*). The people who are going out of mourning have wrapped themselves round with good new bark cloth; which they now remove and lay down before their hosts. This is a common custom at potlatches and is described as "taking off one's clothes to So-and-so." It would be disrespectful for a herald to present the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Incarnations

424 Incarnations of clan gods (pp. 109-111) are the exclusive property of the clan and only their titles may be used by members of other clans in the presence of the owners.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

462 Labor is organized by sex, kinship, and locality. The main division of labor by sex is as follows:

Men	Women
gardening	child care
gathering fruit and fuel for the earth oven	fishing with net and line
fishing with spear and line	gathering greens and fuel for boiling in pots
animal husbandry	preparing and boiling food in pots
preparing and steaming food in the earth oven	mat making
house building	barkcloth making
canoe building	oil making
woodworking	
sailing and trading	

In most villages the larger share of the work falls to the men. Formerly, when the output from women's crafts—such as mats, tapas, oil, and pots—was greater, due to the demands of home consumption and trade now supplied in part by western trade goods, the division of labor was more balanced.

462 The chief economic groups of both sexes are kinship groups. The family
571 and the subclan are the working units which supply the daily food and
476 its preparation. For labor requiring more workers the clan becomes the unit.
602 In communal undertakings requiring large groups of workers, the clan and the village function as the main economic units.

CALENDAR OF THE YEAR

805 The Lauans formerly measured time by the moon (*vula*). The complete calendar for the year has been lost, but some of the old terms are still in use in southern Lau. The seasons overlap and in general they are about one month later on Fulanga and Ongea than on Kambara because of the difference in climate.

The outstanding time of year is the harvest season when food is plentiful on most of the southern islands. This lasts roughly for five months during the rainy season, December to April. These months are the "ripe fruit" moons (*vulai matua ni vuata*) when most of the cultivated and jungle fruit trees bear, including the Tahitian chestnut, *ndawa*, *vala*, mango, *nggalaka*, and breadfruit. Breadfruit, the most important fruit crop, has two seasons,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

852 431 602 [854] mother's clans. The property is divided between the relatives, and the child's parents receive no share. On this day[1] the child is bathed in the sea for the first time.

539 CHILDHOOD ON KAMBARA

Mothe, mothe, ko yandra, yandra,
Vuka mai na lupe ni wasa,
Ke lupe ndina, ke mothe manda-e.

Sleep, sleep, and wake, wake,
The dove of the waves comes flying.
If he is a true dove he will sleep-e.

Lauan lullaby.

854 593 For the first year the mother and child live in a predominately feminine world. Since the father's work takes him to the gardens, the bush and the reef during the day, and to the earth oven in the late afternoon, and since he sleeps in another house at night, he sees the mother and child only at the evening meal and occasionally during the day. Throughout the nursing period, which lasts about one year, the father's chief rôle in the cooperative enterprise of parenthood is the provision of food. He takes little part in the baby's life until the child is old enough to run. If the father does pick the child up he carries him in his arms or on his back, never in a sling, which is used only by women. One is more likely to see the grandfather than the father with the infant on his lap. The father, however, is proud of the child, especially if he is the first born.

854 462 [1162] During the nursing period the mother has practically nothing to do except care for and play with the infant. She is relieved of her usual tasks, such as fishing, gathering greens, and tending the kitchen fires, by the other women and girls of her sub-clan. Since the females outnumber the males there are always hands to do the comparatively small amount of work that falls to the women. Unmarried girls fish and gather greens and firewood for the kitchen. They also grate and strain coconut for coconut cream. Older women, with

[1] [i.e., the first child's first birthday.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the help of the girls, prepare the greens by removing the leaves from the stems, and attend to the boiling.

Mother and child are practically inseparable. The mother rarely goes out of the village, but spends most of her time with other women in one of the kitchen houses of her clan, her baby on her lap or close beside her. Sometimes she strolls leisurely through the village to see a relative, her infant slung on her back or over one hip in a piece of cloth or barkcloth, which has been slipped under one arm and over the opposite shoulder and knotted over the chest. The mother plays with her baby, talks to him, and pets him. Long before the child is able to stand she amuses herself by propping him up against her breasts, his feet on her lap. Moving his little body rhythmically in imitation of the dance, she chants to him. She calls him "little pig" and sings lullabies to put him to sleep. At night the child sleeps beside her on the mat.

The mother usually suckles the baby whenever he cries, which may be three or four times in one hour. He is allowed to nurse as long as he cares to. If she is sitting with flexed legs crossed in front she lays the child across her lap. While sucking her right breast he is supported by her right arm, her left hand upholding the lower end of her breast. During the process of nursing the mother often rocks the child by rhythmically moving the flexed leg on which he rests. If she is lying down she lays the child beside and facing her, places the sling she uses for carrying him in a wad under his head, and gives him her breast. The child is not interrupted to change breasts nor is the breast withdrawn until he rejects it. The weaning process is gradual and without shock to the child. At the age of three or four months he is fed baked papaw or raw mango, usually half-ripe, in a casual fashion. Now and then bits of baked sweet potato or breadfruit are slipped into his mouth. Gradually he eats more and more solid food until, at the age of about one year he is fully weaned. I did not observe any child sucking his thumb.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

13 ripe coconut "cream,")[17] as well as certain indispensable vitamins and minerals
146 found in fresh green leaves and red peppers. Furthermore, although food does
262 not drop off the trees and rot on the ground (as it does on many Pacific islands—e.g., in Guam before the last war), the Lauan diet appears, under native conditions, to have been relatively adequate in quantity except in time of hurricane or drought.

13 The traditional diet of the Lauans is the result of a complicated and in-
262 genious structure of attitudes, habits and institutions which function to develop
264 and reinforce the basic ecology of the area according to the needs of its popula-
462 tion, and to relate and adjust the community as a whole to the total environment. To gain some insight into this structure, let us begin with the daily menu. The Lauans eat only one main meal a day, at about sundown, and the major activities of both sexes are directed toward procuring and preparing the food for this meal. The men and boys of the household are responsible for the daily supply of "true food" for their own group and this they either raise in the household's garden land or collect from the bush. They then carefully prepare it, wrap it in leaves, place each package of food in the earth-oven pit on stones which have previously been heated, cover the whole with leaves and earth, and allow it to steam for at least an hour. The women and girls of the household, on the other hand, are responsible for the relish. They collect fresh green leaves daily—either edible leaves from the bush or sweet potato leaves from the garden. The women also collect shellfish on the reef or fish with nets in the lagoon and they clean the catch on the beach. Then, at the household kitchen huts, they pick leaves from stems, grate and strain the fatty flesh of *ripe coconuts to make coconut* "cream," and boil the mixture with fish and pepper in pots for at least an hour over a wood fire.

13 When both parts of the meal, the "true food" and the relish, are finally
264 ready, they are combined and divided into shares, one for each member of the
462 household according to rank, age and sex. Thus the two parts of the daily meal are always procured and prepared separately. Indeed, no woman is allowed near the earth-oven, which is strictly a male domain located some distance from the kitchen hut. This complementary and balanced sexual division of the rather time-consuming labor of meal-getting functions effectively toward insuring that the daily diet will be reasonably adequate, varied, and sufficient

[17] The proximate composition of "coconut cream" is: protein, 3.55%; fat, 33.15%; carbohydrate, 8.62%; calories per 100 grams, 347. (Concepcion, 1947). On this point, Emma Reh, nutrition officer, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, writes, "The protein content of 'coconut cream' is fairly high considering this is a liquid product. The protein is of good quality, like proteins of pulses, oily seeds and nuts, and superior to those of cereals, starchy roots and other vegetable foods. It is rich in most of the amino acids essential in nutrition. The fat content of the 'coconut cream' is also high, but the fat is low in the unsaturated fatty acids needed by the body. The requirements are however small, and probably met by fats contained in other foods." (Reh, 1948).

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

in quantity to fulfill the needs of the group, without placing undue burden on either sex or on any one individual. The method of sharing the feast tends toward a systematic, equitable distribution of food within the household group.

Now it should be noted that, for the self-maintenance of this diet pattern, each household must have access to three types of resources: namely, garden land, bush, and fishing grounds. With this point in mind, let us glance at the system of land use in southern Lau.[18] After the British took over the Fiji Islands in 1874 and peace was established between native factions, the clan-hamlets moved out of the interior of the Lau islands and settled on adjacent lots on the windward[19] shores, forming coastal villages. But they kept their ancient land divisions and proprietary clan rights. Volcanic islands like Mothe were divided into pie-shaped sections bounded by natural ridges which separate the fertile valleys, and each clan had the use of the garden lands, uplands, and fishing grounds of the section wherein its hamlet had formerly been located. On limestone islands like Fulanga where the valley and ridge conformation is absent, land sections were not pie-shaped; but a similar principle of land division nonetheless prevailed. Formerly the bush and fishing grounds in the vicinity of each site occupied by a clan-hamlet, its jungle fruits, garden lands, and other resources belonged to the hamlet. Each household within a clan-hamlet had the use of a piece of the hamlet's garden lands and all the households of the hamlet together had access to the hamlet's bush and fishing grounds.

After the establishment of coast villages, the bush and fishing grounds belonging to the clans of a village were used in common by the whole village group, but the ancient division of garden lands by clans and households persisted. Furthermore, certain clans or villages claim ownership of one or more of the small uninhabited limestone islands in the community. For example, Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara claims the island of Wangava and its members supplement the crops they raise on their meager garden lands on Kambara with those they raise on Wangava, and also use Wangava's rather extensive forest and lake products. Undu village on Kambara claims ownership of the island of Marambo and uses its resources. Indeed, all the uninhabited islands of the community are claimed and used to supplement the resources of the owning groups. Thus the land use system of Lau is closely related to the basic ecological arrangement of the area and functions to insure a balanced distribution of various types of island resources among the local groups of each island and to render accessible to each household means of obtaining a balanced daily diet.

[18] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[19] Except Tokalau and Lomatchi located on Kambara's leeward shore near the anchorage.

[FULANGA I]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake. [231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake and Muanaira are close together on the south ocean side. The former [161] has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population 487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 462 [226] [241] [320] [285] [287] 295 241 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa). Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local consumption only.

13 g. KOMO is a small island of volcanic origin lying 9 miles north of Namuka-i-Lau and 6 miles west by south of Mothe. (S.18° 41', 178° 39' W.). It is sub-crescent shaped, 1 1/2 miles long by 5/8 mile wide. On the north a ridge rises to an elevation of 270 feet from the sea, with moderately steep slopes; covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina trees. The summit is crowned by a small patch of coconut palms. The south side and west end are flat with cultivated areas and small groves of coconut palms.

Komo Ndriti, a small, rough, wooded islet of upraised coral limestone, lies a half mile off the west point.

A barrier reef encloses these islands on three sides, the northwest being open except for coral heads and a few small patches of reef. Here there are two good ship passages, 320 and 550 yards wide.

312 Although there are one or two small murky streamlets, rainwater is caught and stored in the village for drinking purposes.

13 Birds, lizards, rats and hermit crabs are the only wild land animals. Insects not very abundant and landshells scarce.

361 The village is located on the S.E. side, and consists of about 25
[161] houses. The natives, about 140 in number, are great fishermen, the
226 women using hand nets and basket traps, plated from beach vine, near
227 shore, while the men fish on the reef. They raise a few domesticated
462 pigs, fowl and dogs. Some little cultivation is done, especially of
231 sweet potatoes.
241

[p. 31]